

## Message Text

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ADDIS ABABA, JIDDA,  
KHARTOUM, MOGADISCIO, NAIROBI, LONDON, PARIS, MOSCOW, SANA,  
USUN NEW YORK FROM CAIRO MAY 18:

QUOTE S E C R E T CAIRO 8402

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, SA, US  
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE  
HORN OF AFRICA.

SUMMARY: ON MAY 16 DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SEELYE  
MET IN RIYADH WITH FONMIN PRINCE SAUD FOR LONG AND  
DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF  
AFRICA. ON SOMALIA PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT HE FELT PRE-  
SIDENT SIAD BARRE WAS SINCERE IN HIS DESIRE TO DISENGAGE  
FROM THE SOVIETS. THE ONLY REASON FOR THIS IS RECENT  
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CLOSE SOVIET TIES WITH THE ETHIOPIANS ESPECIALLY IN PRO-  
VIDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE. ASIDE FROM THAT SAID HAS  
HAD NO QUARREL WITH THE RUSSIANS. HE MAY NOT BE A  
CONVINCED MARXIST BUT HAS WHOLEHEARTEDLY EMBRACED THE  
COMMUNIST SYSTEM AS A MEANS OF GETTING AND HOLDING POWER.  
THIS DOES NOT KEEP HIM FROM HAVING DIFFERENCES WITH THE  
RUSSIANS. LONGSTANDING SOMALI FEAR OF ETHIOPIAN AGGRESSION  
HAS BEEN INCREASED AND IS COUPLED WITH CONCERN THAT THE  
SOVIETS MAY NOW HAVE EXCESSIVE POWER WITHIN THE SOMALI  
MILITARY AND ADMINISTRATION. WHILE THE SAG IS CONVINCED

THAT SIAD WANTS TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE RUSSIANS, AN ALTERNATIVE SOURCE OF ARMS IS ESSENTIAL FOR THIS TO COME ABOUT. SAHE SOMALIA ARMED FORCES, AS NATIONALIST AS SIAD, WOULD WELCOME THE MOVE BUT THEIR SUPPORT WOULD QUICKLY WANE IF ARMS WERE NOT AVAILABLE FROM ANOTHER SOURCE.

AMB SEELYE OUTLINED THE DIFFICULTIES WE WOULD FACE IN SEEKING TO DISPLACE THE RUSSIANS AND ASKED FOR SAUDI REACTION TO A POSSIBLE WESTERN CONSORTIUM OF ARMS SUPPLIERS. PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION TO THIS BUT US INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE VITAL FOR PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL REASONS. AS TO WHO WOULD PAY FOR THE ARMS, PRINCE SAUDI SAID THAT SAUDI ARABIA WOULD BE PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHICH WOULD MAKE SOMALI CASH PURCHASES POSSIBLE. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THERE SHOULD BE GRANT MILITARY AID FROM WESTERN SUPPLIERS AND THAT THE US SHOULD MAKE FMS CREDIT AVAILABLE. SAUD DID NOT SEE SOMALI IRREDENTISM AS A PROBLEM AS SOMALIA WAS NOT PREPARED TO USE FORCE EITHER AGAINST KENYA OR THE OGADEN (THOUGH THE SOMALIS WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT INDIGENOUS REBELS IN THE OGADEN). SOMALIA ACCEPTED DJIBOUTI INDEPENDENCE BECAUSE THEY LOST NOTHING BY IT. THE SOMALIS SEEMED TO THINK THAT DJIBOUTI WOULD ONE DAY JOIN SOMALIA BUT THIS WAS A LONG RANGE VIEJJEND THEY WERE NOT PREPARED TO DO ANYTHING TO BRING IT ABOUT. SAUD SAID THAT THE PRESENT EGYPTIAN REGIME IS NOT FOLLOWING RATIONAL POLICIES.

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SAUDI ARABIANS ALWAYS FAVERED A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FOR THE ERITREAN PROBLEM BASED UPON AUTONOMY WITHIN AN ETHIOPIAN UNION, RATHER THAN INDEPENDENCE. MXT ONE TIME AFTER THE FALL OF THE EMPEROR IT SPPEARED THAT SUCH A SETTLEMENT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. THE EPMG DELIBERATELY KILLED THESE HOPES BY THE PEASANT MARCH AND SUBSEQUENT POLICIES. NOW THE ERITREAN REBLES FEEL THAT THEY ARE IN GSCJOSOL AND ARE LESS INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATING. THE SAG HAS SOUGHT TO MONHDATE ERITREAN DEMANDS BUT THEIR ARSCE FALLS ON DEAF EARDDS ELONG AS THE EPMG IS PURSING ITS PRESENT BRUTAL POLICIES. THE SITUATION WILL REMAIN OUT OF CONTROL UNTIL THE EPMG RETURNS TO RATIONAL POLICIES. PRINCE SAUD UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF FURTHER US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE SUDAN, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF AIR DEFENSE AS AT PRESENT SUDAN REMAINS EXPOSED TO ITS ENEMIES FROM THE AIR. HE SAID THAT THE SAG WOULD SOON BE RECEIVING A KENYAN DELEGATION TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE BUT THAT MILITARY LINKS BETWEEN KENYA AND ISRAEL WERE A HINDERANCE IN THIS REGARD. SAUD SAID THAT SAUDI ARABIA SUPPORTS DJIBOUTI'S INDEPENDENCE AND IS PREPARED TO ASSIST ECONOMICALLY. HE ASKED IF THE U.S.S. WAS ALSO. SEELYE SAID WE WERE. SAUD SAID THAT THE SAG HAD RECEIVED NUMEROUS REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE FROM DJIBOUTI LEADERS BUT WAS HAMPERED IN DECIDING WHAT

TO DO BY LACK OF KNOWLEDGE. HE ASKED THAT THE U.S. CONSULT AND ADVISE ON THIS QUESTION. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE NEEDED STUDY, IN THE MEANTIME IT WAS A FRENCH RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP DJIBOUTI AFLOAT UNTIL OTHER DONORS COULD SORT OUT HOW THEY COULD BEST HELP. PRINCE SAUD GREATLY APPRECIATED SEELYE'S COMING TO CNSULT ON THE HORN OF AFRICA AND WISHED CLOSE CONSULTATION TO CONTINUE, ESPEICAVY CONCERNING THE NEXT STEPS IN SOMALIA. RJ UNDUD TOOK TO RAISE WITH THE SOMALIS IN GENERAL TERMS THE QUESTION OF ACCESS BY U.S. OFFICIALS TO SOMALI GOVERNMENT LEADERS IN THE BELIEF THIS COULD HELP RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF

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AMB LAUGHRAM'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SAID. END SUMMARY

1. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SEELYE HAD A RELAXED AND THOROUGH TWO AND HALF HOUR DISCUSSION ON HORN OF AFRICA WITH SAUDI FONMIN PRINCE SAUD AL FAISAL IN RIYADH ON AMY 16. SEELYE SAID U.S.IS PLEASED BY THE CONSTRUCTIVE AND MORE ACTIVE POLICY SAUDI ARABIA NOW FOLLOWING NOT ONLY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA BUT IN THE CONTINENT GENERALLY. AT PRINCE SAUD'S REQUEST HE GAVE CAPABLE COUNTRY BY COUNTRY REVIEW OF U.S. ANALYSIS OF SITUATION ON THE HORN.

2. ETHIOPIA. THERE HAS RECENTLY BEEN A SHARP DETERIORATION IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA. THE TURNING POINT WAS PROBABLY THE EVENTS BRINGING MENGISTU TO POWER IN FEBRUARY. THE EPMG RECENTLY CLOSED DOWN FIVE U.S. INSTALLATIONS IN THE COUNTRY INCLUDING OUR MILITARY ADVISORY GROUP. THE TIMING OF THIS MOVE MAY HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY OUR OWN DECISION, COMMUNICATED TO THE EPMG A COUPLE OF DAYS EARLIER, TO REDUCE THE SIZE OF THE MAAG AND CLOSE OUR COMMUNICATIONS STATION AT ASMARA BUT IT WAS PROBABLY AN ACTION ALREADY DECIDED. WE ESTIMATE THAT THE EPMG WILL FACE A SITUATION OF CONTINUING DISSIDENCE INCLUDING INCREASING WEAKENING OF CONTROL OVER A NUMBER OF PROVINCES BUT THAT THERE IS NO SHORT TERM PROSPEC

OF THE REGIME BEING OVERTHROWN. WE HAVE FROZEN ALL MILITARY DELIVERIES TO ETHIOPIA AND ARE REDUCING THE SIZE OF OUR EMBASSY. WE WISH, NEVERTHELESS, TO MAINTAIN A PRESENCE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE AN AID MISSION FOR THREE REASONS: (A) TO BE ABLE TO MONITOR WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE COUNTRY, (B) BECAUSE ADDIS IS THE SEAT OF OAU HEADQUARTERS FROM WHICH WE DO NOT WISH TO BE CUT OFF, AND (C) WE STILL HAVE A LOT OF FRIENDS THERE AND WE WOULD LIKE TO MAINTAIN CONTINUITY FOR THE TIME WHEN BETTER RELATIONS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.

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3. SUDAN AND KENYA. SEELYE SAID THAT BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE MODERATE GOVERNMENTS WHICH ARE STABILIZING FACTOR IN THE REGION. WE HAVE MOVED INTO A PERIOD OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT AND ARE DOING WHAT WE CAN TO STRENGTHEN SUDAN'S ABILITY TO RESIST AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION, PRIMARILY THROUGH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE; WE THINK SUDAN -- LIKE KENYA -- HAS GREAT AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL. WE ARE ALSO HELPING IN THE MILITARY AREA. THE PRESIDENT HAS APPROVED THE SALE OF C-130'S AND WHEN THIS SALE HAS BEEN FINALLY APPROVED WE WILL CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER MILITARY SALES IN LIGHT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S WORLD-WIDE ARMS POLICY REVIEW.

4. DJIBOUTI. WE ARE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT THERE WILL BE AN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. TO ENSURE THAT THIS INDEPENDENCE IS PRESERVED IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SEE THAT THE NEW STATE IS Viable ECONOMICALLY. WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP.

5. SOMALIA. RE SOMALIA, SEELYE SAID THAT WE ARE SOMEWHAT PUZZLED BY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. THE NEW CLOSE SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONSHIP, PARTICULARLY IN THE ARMS AREA, HAS CERTAINLY MADE THE SOMALIS NERVOUS. NOW SEEMS LIKE A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO FACILITATE A DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE SOVIETS. BUT WE HAVE TWO QUESTIONS IN THIS REGARD ON WHICH WE WOULD LIKE SAUDI VIEWS. FIRST: HAS SAID BARRE REALLY DECIDED TO LOSSEN HIS TIES WITH THE SOVIETS? OR IS THIS JUST A PLOY PERHAPS DESIGNED TO GET THE RUSSIANS TO GO SLOW WITH ETHIOPIA OR TO INDUCE THE RUSSIANS TO UP THE ANTE FOR BERBERA AND THEIR OTHER FACILITIES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME GETTING SOMETHING OUT OF THE U.S. AND SAUDI ARABIA? WE DON'T THINK THIS IS THE CASE BUT THE QUESTION IS SUGGESTED BY PRESIDENT BARRE'S FAILURE TO SEE OUR AMBASSADOR BETWEEN THE TIME OF HIS RETURN TO SOMALIA FROM THE US AND HIS DEPARTURE  
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TWO WEEKS LATER FOR A CONFERENCE. IF BARRE WERE SERIOUS ABOUT IMPROVING US-SOMALI RELATIONS, HE WOULD PRESUMABLY SEE OUR AMBASSADOR. ALTERNATIVELY, IS IT POSSIBLE THAT SAID REALLY DOES WANT TO LOSSEN SOMALI DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIETS, BUT HE FINDS DIFFICULTY IN DOING SO? MIGHT HE NOT BE INHIBITED BY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR SOMALI ASSOCIATES IN THE GOVERNMENT? DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE SOVIETS WILL IN ANY CASE BE A DELICATE AND DIFFUCLT PROCESS, AND COULD JEOPARDIZE SIAD'S POSITION AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT IF HE IS STRONGLY OPPOSED IN THIS POLICY.

6. SEELYE SAID THAT WHATEVER SIAD BARRE'S MOTIVES, WE

ARE PREPARED TO BE RESPONSIVE. WE ARE READY TO ASSIST ECONOMICALLY AND AS THE FIRST STEP TO SEND OUT AN AID SURVEY TEAM. BUT BEFORE WE DO THIS, WE NEED SOME DIRECT EXPRESSION OF INTEREST FROM SAD BARRE. WE KNOW THAT THE QUESTION OF ARMS SUPPLIES WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE SOMALIS. UNTIL WE ARE COMPLETED OUR OWN ARMS REVIEW IT ISN'T POSSIBLE TO SAY JUST WHAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO DO. IT IS CERTAINLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE US TO REPLACE THE SOVIETS AS THE SOLVE SOURCE OF ARMS. WE WILL BE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES TO HELP IN THE WEAPONS FIELD AND IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE A KIND OF WESTERN CONSORTIUM IN WHICH THE U.S. MIGHT PARTICIPATE. WE RECONGIZE THAT U.S. PARTCIPATION COULD BE IMPORTANT TO SAID FOR POLITICAL REASONS. CLEARLY WHATEVER WE DO WILL NOT LIVE UP TO SIAD'S EXPECTATIONS. ALSO, WE DO NOT WANT THE SOMALIS TO GET MORE THAN DEFENSIVE ARMS OR TO ENCOURAGE THE SOMALIS TO BELIEVE THEY CAN USE FORCE TO RESOLVE THEIR IRRIDENTIST CLAIMS.

7. PRINCE SAUD RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT SAUDI ARABIA VIEWS STABILITY IN AFRICA AS VITAL TO ITS OWN INTERESTS AND TB NEW SOVIET AGGRESSIVENESS IN AFRICA IS VERY DISTURBING. TURNING FIRST TO SOMALIA, PRINCE SAUDI SAID

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THAT SAUDI RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY HAVE NOT BEEN GOOD FOR THREE OR FOUR YEARS AND HAVE WORSENED AS SOVIET INVOLVEMENT HAS GROWNBW SAUDI ARABIA NOW BELIEVES THAT SOMALIA IS REVIEWING ITS POLICIES. THE MILITARY ELEMENT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN THIS REVIEW, GIVEN SIAD'S OWN BASE OF POWER IN THE MILITARY. THERE WAS BASICALLY NO QUARREL BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE SOMALIS UNTIL THE RUSSIANS BEGAN GIVING MAJOR SUPPORT TO THE ETHIOPIANS, PARTICULARLY IN THE MILITARY AREA. THE SOMALIS THEN BECAME CAUGHT IN A CONFLICT BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND NATIONALISM. THE SOMALIS HAVE NEVER INTENDED TO ATTACK ETHIOPIA BUT THEY HAVE CONSTANTLY FEARED ETHIOPIAN AGGRESSION. SIAD BARRE IS NOW EVEN MORE CONCERNED AND PERCIEVES A DUAL THREAT: ONE FROM A SOVIET-BACKED ETHIOPIA AND THE OTHER FROM SOVIET INFLUENCE IN HIS OWN ARMED FORCES AND ADMINISTRATION.

8. PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT WHEN HE TALKZZ WITH SIAD BARRE IN APRIL SIAD HAD GONE TO SOME LENGTH TO JUSTIFY HIS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND INSIST ON HIS OWN INDEPENDENCE. AT THE SAME TIME HE GAVE CLEAR INDICATION THAT SOMALIA IS LOOKING FOR ALTERNATIVES. VICE PRESIDENT SAMANTAR IS PRO-SOVIET BECAUSE HE HAS NO OTHER POWER BASE AND THE SOVIETS ARES TRONG IN THEMILITARY. SIAD'S BROTHER-IN-LAQBAND HEAD OF SECURITY, AHMED SULAIMAN, SEEMS TO BE GAINING IN STRENGTH AND FAVORS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE SOVIETS. HE TOLD PRINCE SAUD THAT SEEN IN THE ARMY

WHERE THE RUSSIANS HAVE SUCH STRENGTH THERE IS WIDESPREAD RESENTMENT BECAUSE OF THEIR CONTROL OVER OFFICER CAREERS. MOST OF THE POPULATION IS OPPOSED TO SIAD AND THE COMMUNISTS AND SIAD SEEMS NOW TO BE TRYING TO FORGE A FRONT INCLUDING NON-COMMUNISTS ELEMENTS. HE RECENTLY REHABILITATED A FORMER MODERATE MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND HAS BROUGHT BACK OMAR ARTEH. PERHAPS HE ONLY DID THIS IN ORDER TO

HAVE SOMEONE WHO COULD TALK MORE EASILY WITH THE SAUDI  
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GOVERNMENT. BUT EVEN IF THIS IS THE CASE, IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT HE FELT THE NEED TO DO SO.

9. AS TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER SIAD BARRE IS A CONVINCED IDEOLOGICAL MARXIST COMMUNIST, PRINCESAUD SAID PROBABLY NOT. BUT THIS ISN'T VERY RELEVANT SINCE HE HAS UNQUESTIONABLY ADOPTED A SYSTEM BASED ON COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY AS A MEANS OF RULING AND HOLDING ON TO POWER. THE FACT THAT HE HAS WHOLEHEATEDLY EMBRACED A COMMUNIST SYSTEM DOESN'T MEAN THAT HE NEED SEE EYE OT EYE WITH THE RUSSIANS; LOOK AT TURKS AND CHINESE. THE IMPORTANT THING NOW FOR SAUDI ARABIA, THE U.S. AND THE WEST IS TO CAPITALIZE ON SIAD'S DUAL FEARS CREATED BY SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA AND THE SUSPICION THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT NOT GET OUT IF HE ORDERED THEM TO. SIAD KNOWS THAT (A) MENGISTU IS MUCH MORE COMMITTED TO THE RUSSIANS THAN HE IS AND (B) THAT ETHIOPIA IS A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT COUNTRY FOR THE RUSSIANS BY VIRTUE OF ITS CENTRAL AND STRATEGIC LOCATION AND LARGE POPULATION.

10. PRINCE SAUDI SAID THAT THE ETHIOPIAN ELEMENT IS ALL THAT MAKES A CHANGE OF SOMALI POLICY POSSIBLE AND THE KEY TO THIS IS THE QUESTION OF MILITARY SUPPLY. UNLESS SIAD IS ASSURED IN THIS REGARD HE WON'T BE MOVE TO MOVE. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE U.S. BE WILLING TO HELP. SAUDI ARABIA CAN HELP ECONOMICALLY, BUT DOESN'T HAVE THE ARMS TO GIVE. IT WON'T WORK FOR US TO SAY "GET THE RUSSIANS OUT AND WE WILL SEE WHAT WE CAN DO". SIAD MUST FIRST HAVE SOMETHING IN HAND. SEELYE SAID THAT THE U.S. ACCEPTED THAT THE ACTUAL DEPARTURE OF THE RUSSIANS WOULD NOT BE IMMEDIATE, AND IT WOULD HAVE TO BE APPROACHED CAUTIOUSLY. HOWEVER, ULTIMATELY WE WOULD EXPECT AS A QUID PRO QUO FOR WESTERN MILITARY ASSISTANCE THE EVICTION OF THE SOVIETS FROM BERBERA.

11. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF SOMALI IRREDENTISM,  
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PRINCE SAUD SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE SOMALIS WERE

LIKELY TO ATTACK THE OGADEN, THOUGH THEY HAD BEEN AND WOULD CONTINUE TO GIVE SUPPORT TO INDIGENOUS REBBDS. SOMALIA HAS HA A STRANGE RELATIONSHIP WITH OGADEN, NOT TREATING IT AS A FULLY INTEGRAL PART OF SOMALIA ANDAT TIMES IN THE PAST HAVING EXPLOITED IT. SINGULARLY, SOMALIS IS UNLIKELY EVER TO USE FORCE TO OBTAIN CONTROL OF SOMALIA TERRITORY IN KENYA, FIRST BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT TO ANTAGONIZE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND WORLD OPINION, AND SECONDLY BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT THEY HAVE NO SUPPORT IN THE REGION. JRRFOR DJIBOUTI THEY THINK THAT EVENTUALLY IT WILL JOIN THEM. BUT THEY WILL NOT TAKE ANY ACTION TO BRING THIS ABOUT AMONG OTHER REASONS BECAUSE THEY DON'T WANT TO FIGHT ETHIOPIA BACKED BY THE SOVIETS. THEY ARE PREPARED TO SEE DJIBOUTI JOIN THE ARAB LEAGUE AND THE OAU. THEY DON'T LOSE ANYTHING B DJIBOUTI INDEPENDENCE EVEN OVER THE LONG TERM.

12. SEELYE NOTED THAT PRINCE SAUD HAD ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF SIAD BARRE'S SINCERITY IN DESIRING TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM THE RUSSIANS. THE QUESTION THEN ARRIES, HOW FAR AND FAST CAN HE GO WITHOUT DEGRADING HIS MILITARY CAPABILITY. PRINCE SAUD REPLIED THAT IT IS IMPORTANTHKO MAKE THE DISTINCTION THAT SIAD IS NOT A PRISONER OF THE RUSSIANS. BECAUSE OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR MENGISTU A MOVE AWAY FROM THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE POPULAR IN THE ARMY WHERE NATIONALISM IS STRONG. ADMITTEDLY THIS MIGHT NOT BE THE CASE WITH THE AIR FORCE WHERE THE RUSSIANS ARE PARTICULARLY WELL LOCATED. ON THE WHOLE THE PROBLEM IS NOT GETTING THE SUPPORT OF HISMILITARY BUT OF SUSTAINING IT. IF THERE WERE NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE URSSIANS AS ARMS SUPPLERS, HIS SUPPORT WOULD DISSIPATE QUCIKLY.

13. SEELYE ASKED PRINCE SAUD HOW HE WOULD VIEW A CONSORTIUM OF WESTERN ARMS SUPPLIERS TO SOMALIA, INCLUDING PERHAPS FRANCE AND THE UK. PRINCE SAUDI REPLIED THAT HE  
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WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THIS BUT U.S. INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR POLITICAL REASONS. SEELYE INQUIRED WHETHER SAUDI ARABIA WOULD BE WILLING TO FINANCE SOMALI ARMS PURCHASES. PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT IT IS NOT NORMAL SAUDI PRITICE TO PAY DIRECTLY FOR FOREIGN ARMS PURCHASES THOGH THERE HAVE BEEN EXCEPTIONS. SAUDI ARABIA WILL BE PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA WHICH SHOULD FREE MONEY THE SOMALIS COULD USE FOR MAKING CASH PURCHASES. SEELYE ASKED WHETHER THIS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE COULD BE ENOUGH TO COVER THE WEASPONS PRUCHASES.  
PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT SAUDI ASSISTANCE WOULD PAY FOR SOME BUT THA TSOME ARMS SHOULD BE PROVIDED TO THE SOM LIS BY WESTERN NATIONS ON A GRANT OR CREDIT BASIS. THE U.S., HE SAID, SHOULD MAKE FMS CREDITS AVAILABLE SINCE SOMALIA

IS SUCH A POOR COUNTRY. THIS COULD ALSO BE PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMPORTANT. SEELYE SAID THAT FMS CREDITS FOR SOMALIA MIGHT BE VERY DIFFICULT AND THAT EVEN APPROVAL FOR THE CASH SALE OF WEAPONS WILL NOT BE A SIMPLE MATTER.

14. PRINCE SAUD THEN REVERTED TO THE QUESTION OF U.S. ARMS FOR THE SUDAN. HE SAID HE WAS PLEASED THAT WE HAD DECIDED TO SELL THE C-130'S BUT HOPED WE WOULD BE DOING MORE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AIR DEFENSE FIELD. HE SAID THAT THE SUDAN NEEDS F-5'S AND ASSOCIATED GROUND RADARS, ETC. BECUASE AT PRESENT THE COUNTRY STANDS COMPLETELY EXPOSED TO ITS ENEMIES FROM THE AIR. SEELYE REITERATED THAT WE WILL BE EXAMINING THIS QUESTION ONCE WE HAVE THE SALE OF THE C-130'S HAS BEEN FULLY APPROVED. WHAT WE DO FOR THE SUDAN WILL DEPEND UPON THE RESULTS OF OUR OVERALL ARMS SALES REVIEW. FUNDAMENTALLY, WE RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMATE NEED OF FRIENDLY, MODERATE GOVERNMENTS TO ACQUIRE WEAPONS TO MEET THEIR DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS.

15. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF ERITREA, SEELYE SAID

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THAT WHILE WE HAVE GENERALLY SUPOORTED THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH ERITREA BECAME PART OF ETHIOPIA RAISES QUESTIONS AS TO HOW FIRMLY THIS POLICY SHOULD APPLY HERE. IN ANY CASE, WE SUPPORT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND FEAR THAT, IN VIEW OF VERY STRONG ETHIOPIAN FEELINGS IN REGARD TO ERITREA, INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PROVINCE COULD TURN OUT TO BE PERMANENTLY DESTABILIZING. WHAT, HE ASKED, IS SAUDI ARABIA'S POSITION? PRINCE SAUD REPLIED THAT SAUDI ARABIA WANTS STABILITY IN THE AREA AND HAS MAINTAINED THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WOULD BE BEST. AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE EMPEROR AND BEFORE THE RECENT SERIES OF PURGES SAUDI ARABIA HAD RECEIVED AN ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION AND INFORMED THEM THAT SAUDI ARABIA BELIEVED THAT BECUASE ERITREA WAS ANNEXED THAT IT FELL OUTSIDE THE OAU RESOLUTION ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE SAUDIS HAD SAID THAT THEY WERE GIVING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE ERITREANS AND SUPPORT THEIR DESIRE FOR AN IDENTITY. THEY HAD ALSO SAID THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BASED ON AUTONOMY WITHIN AN ETHIOPIAN UNION WOULD BE WELCOME. AT THIS TIME THE SAUDIS THROUGHT THE CHANCES FOR A SETTLEMENT WERE EXCELLENT. THE ETHIOPIANS THEN PROCEEDED TO KILL PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN A MANNER WHICH LEFT NO DOUBT THEY WERE DOING SO DELIBERATELY. NOW THAT THE ERITREANS FEEL THAT THE MILITARY SITUATION HAS CHANGED AND THAT THEY ARE IN CHARGE, THEY ARE LESS LIKELY TO ACCEPT A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. PRINCE SAUD SIAD THAT THE SAG HAD TOLD THE ERITREANS THAT THEY SHOULD MODERATE THEIR DEMANDS BUT IN THE FACE

OF ETHIOPIAN INTRANSIGENCE THIS HAS NO EFFECT. THE SITUATION NOW IS NOT IN ANYONE'S HANDS BUT THE ETHIOPIANS. SAUDI ARABIA STILL BELIEVES THAT THE BEST SOLUTION WOULD BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ECOMPANSSING ERITREA WITHIN AN ETHIOPIAN STATE, BUT THE ETHIOPIAN REGIME IS NOT FOLLOWING A RATIONAL POLICY. UNTIL THEY DO THE SITUATION WILL REMAIN OUT OF CONTROL.

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16. THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED BRIEFLY TO KENYA. SEELYE SAID THAT THE U.S. HAD RECENTLY DECIDED TO EARMARK SOME FUNDS SPECIFICALLY FOR DEVELOPEMENT OF THE LARGELY SOMALI-MUSLIM INHABITED NORTHEAST CORNER OF SOMALIA. HE INQUIRED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SAUDI AID TO KENYA AND URGED THAT THE SAUDIS GIVE ASSISTANCE. PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT THE MATTER WAS UNDER DISCUSSION AND THAT A KENYAN DELEGATION WOULD BE COMING TO THE KINGDOM SHORTLY TO DISCUSS THIS WITH THE SAUDI FUND FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HE SAID THAT KENYAN MILITARY (HE UNDERLINED MILITARY) RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL WERE A HINDERANCE IN THIS REGARD.

17. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING PRINCE SAUD SAID THAT HE LOOKED FORWARD TO CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICAN MATTERS, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS SOMALIA AND ON THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO DJIBOUTI. DJIBOUTI LEADERS HAD MADE A NUMBER OF REQUESTS INCLUDING SAUDI COVER FOR THEIR CURRENCY. THE SAUDIS WERE AT A LOSS TO KNOW HOW TO PROCEED SINCE THEY DIDN'T HAVE MUCH KNOWLEDGE OF DJIBOUTI'S CONDITIONS OR REAL NEEDS. THEY WOULD APPRECIATE US ADVICE. PRINCE SAUD AND SEELYE AGREED THAT IT WAS A FRENCH RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT INDEPENDENT DJIBOUTI WAS LAUNCHED WITH ENOUGH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO SURVIVE OVER THE SHORT TERM AND THAT IN THE MEANTIME OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES SUCH AS SAUDI ARABIA AND THE U.S. WOULD STUDY THE SITUATION TO DETERMINE HOW BEST THEY COULD HELP.

18. PRINCE SAUD ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD RAISE DIRECTLY WITH THE SOMALIS THE QUESTION OF ACCESS BY U.S. OFFICIALS TO SOMALI LEADERS. HE WOULD NOT REFER SPECIFICALLY TO AMB LOUGHREN'S DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING TO SEE PRESIDENT SIAD BARRE BUT BELIEVED THAT THIS APPROACH MIGHT HELP RESOLVE THAT PROBLEM. EILTS UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 15-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
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**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CONSULTATIONS WITH SAUDI ARABIA ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA.  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SA, US, ET, SO, FT  
**To:** TEHRAN  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/4b6ce888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009